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Ford Madox Ford's Last Library: Details, Dedications, and Remaining Mysteries in the Berg Collection, New York¹

Sara Haslam

This account of the books donated by Janice Biala to the New York Public Library extends the one published by the *Times Literary Supplement* (8 June 2018). My editor there encouraged me to find as much information as possible about Biala's rescue of Ford's books and papers from Toulon (and I remain grateful to Jason Andrew and the Estate for assisting my research). Biala was Ford's partner in the last ten years of his life. The story of her dedication to Ford's legacy was one I found deeply impressive and felt privileged to be telling – and her curation of this collection did not end when it was back in the States. Biala never stayed in one place for long and, as she moved over the years she always found a safe place for the metal trunk containing the books, either with the Duvoisins, close family friends, or with family members in the US as she and her husband Alain continued to make a more permanent base in France. Hermine Ford, Biala's niece, wrote to me that 'Biala would often remind [her sister] Helen and I that the trunk was there so that we would always take care of it', and during the last years of Biala's life, it was held in Hermine's loft in lower Manhattan. Hermine also noted that Biala's selection of the New York Public Library as the books' permanent home – the sisters later ensured that her wishes were carried out – was not only due to Ford's American success and reputation but to the 'long and fruitful hours Ford spent there doing his work'.²

The paperwork underpinning Biala's gift (produced by Glenn Horowitz's New York firm) remains the only way to locate the separate titles in the library and bring them together. The 'backlog' of books awaiting formal cataloguing by the Berg's staff runs into several thousand, and Ford's are amongst them, although a few, by William Carlos Williams (*Kora in Hell: Improvisations*, 1920; *White Mule*, 1937) and Ezra Pound (*Pavannes and Divisions*, 1918 – a working copy; *Lustra*, 1917), have been catalogued elsewhere in the Library's collections.



Ford and daughter Julia, outside
the New York Public Library

Courtesy of: Rare Books and Manuscript
Division Collections, Cornell University

The listing mentions Pound's annotations on *Pavannes* (although not, I later discovered, Ford's on *Lustra* or on his own works). The aim of my research trip to the NYPL was to gather all the titles together and to search each one of the 133 texts Biala donated for the bibliographical or biographical stories they might have to tell.³ Gaps remain in what we know about Ford as a reader and as a networked and responsive mentor in the last decade or so of his life and my hope was that these stories would help to fill them. Unable to access the collection on the morning I arrived, I examined the card index entries for Ford's other works and papers held by the Berg and ordered some up. The material includes a holograph and typescript,⁴ a selection of financial information dating from the period of Ford's editorship of the *English Review* in 1908-9 and a few letters from Ford to his agent James Pinker, but what struck me most that morning was the three-page handwritten receipt that fell out of *The Fifth Queen Crowned*. It detailed sales from a bookshop – the Phoenix – at 41 East 49th Street, New York, undated but listing the purchase by a Mr W.T. H. Howe of a total of \$105.75's worth of Ford's

books. Mr Howe bought 23 volumes in all, varying in cost from a copy of the poem 'A House' at \$2 to *Mr Bosphorus and the Muses*, at \$12.50.⁵ These are among Ford's lesser-known works, and while the lack of date was not helpful, the order anecdotally emphasised what Ford scholars already know: that he was widely and appreciatively read in America, and that it has at times been easier to get hold of his books in that city than anywhere else.⁶

By the end of the first day I had begun ordering the texts from the Biala Collection – each of which has a pencil 'BIALA 8/1/97' in the inside back hard cover, low down and at right angles to the spine. As noted above, I was looking primarily for annotation. Janice Biala said after Ford's death that Hemingway gave him inscribed copies of his books. Though she thought many years later she had sold them all after Ford died, perhaps one or two remained.⁷ If so, what might those dedications add to what we know about Hemingway's views of Ford? And were the gifts also an opportunity for Ford to 'write back' against the shadow Hemingway had cast over the last fifteen years of his professional life?⁸ Any 'conversation' of this kind would be of scholarly interest, whether it took place on copies of Hemingway, or on other books by Ford's peers. Ford was likely to have marked the books up. In 1925 he wrote to Monroe Wheeler, asking him to pass on a message to Glenway Wescott about Wescott's (first) novel *The Apple of the Eye* (1924). Ford told Wheeler he admired the book, and, presumably as evidence of this admiration, would have liked to write to him about some passages that he 'marked in it'. He couldn't do so however, because he had either lent the novel out, or someone had 'stolen it' from his shelves.⁹ An active dialogue of this kind was typical of the kind of reader/writer, and mentor, that Ford was. As well as an experienced editor, he had always been a collaborative writer. Ford's engagement with those other writers with whom he had 'grown up' – James Joyce, Ezra Pound – and who were represented in the collection was just as likely to be demonstrated in pencil in the margins of their published works as it was in Wescott's novel.

But I found little evidence of this dialogue in the collection. The vast majority of the texts donated were by Ford himself (including translations of *Romance*, *No More Parades* and *The Good Soldier*)¹⁰ mostly

published after his death in 1939). Of the 32 books by fellow writers, four were published after Ford died. With the exception of *Pluies*, by St. John Perse,¹¹ their authors' connection with Ford's writing/reading life is well-known – thus, perhaps, explaining their inclusion among the titles Biala donated. The two later books by Katherine Anne Porter post-date the copy of *Flowering Judas and Other Stories* (1935) which is also in the collection, and which she presented to Ford from Paris in November 1935 along with the quotation (from Johnson's *Life of Pope*): “An author places himself uncalled before the tribunal of criticism, and solicits fame at the hazard of disgrace”. The fourth title post-dating Ford's death, *Lord Weary's Castle* by Robert Lowell, is a copy presented in 1946 to Biala and her husband Alain. Ford and Lowell had met in 1937, and Lowell acted as Ford's secretary while he was lecturing at Olivet College, Michigan, later that same year. Katherine Anne Porter was also at Olivet in 1937.

Of the remaining 27 titles by other writers (discounting Porter's *Flowering Judas*, already mentioned), I was able to consult all except two, both by Allen Tate and according to the listing both presentation copies, containing significant dedications, one to Ford in 1932 (this in *Poems 1928-1931*) and one jointly to Ford and Biala in 1936 (in *The Mediterranean and Other Poems*). These books were missing from the collection. Further significant (and valuable) presentation copies I did examine include a copy of *Exiles: A Play in Three Acts* by James Joyce ([1918] 1921): ‘To Ford Madox Hueffer James Joyce 29.x.[1923]’ (the collection also contains an unsigned first edition of *A Portrait of the Artist*). Despite careful scrutiny of the other volumes by Tate (first edition presentation copies of *Mr Pope and Other Poems*, 1928, and *Three Poems: Ode to the Confederate Dead...*, 1930); Gilbert White (a second edition of the *Natural History of Selborne*, signed ‘F. Ford’ but otherwise unmarked) and William Carlos Williams, there were no annotations to be found. There were no books by Hemingway. (Biala sold them in New York to private collections and their dedications therefore remain an unsolved literary mystery.) That left Ezra Pound.

The nature and scope of the Berg's holdings in this case provide fascinating evidence of the depth of Ford's writerly relationships. There

are presentation copies of *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1920): 'Ford from Ezra', and *The Fifth Decad of Cantos* (1937): 'To good ole Fordie still pluggin' at windmills. E. P. [I Luc XV?].'¹² The collection also includes Pound's copy of *Pavannes and Divisions* (published by Knopf in 1918), with an embossed endpaper: '5, Holland Place Chambers' (the address for the flat Pound took as his wedding to Dorothy was arranged in 1914), signed in pencil 'E. Pound' and containing a few autograph corrections. This collection had not been well-received on publication and had no British publisher. Equally notably, there is an 'Author's Proof' of *A Draft of XVI Cantos for the Beginning of a Poem of Some Length* (1925) – which Pound has dedicated to Ford thus: 'Cher F. This appears to be your copy which B. [William Bird] has sent here by mistake. He now wants me to inscribe it: here then making it my continued respite from work. Saluti'.¹³

The creative relationship between Pound and Ford was an old and valued one, as many critics have shown.¹⁴ Their relationship began in the era of the *English Review* and, most famously, Pound said Ford's violent reaction against 'errors' in *Canzoni* in 1911 saved him 'at least' two years of poetic labour.¹⁵ Charles Olson, in his recorded notes of conversations with Pound in St Elizabeths, has Pound saying this about Ford:

At the same time, saved my literary career. Threw book & accused of not writing Anglese. So I had tried to write my third book in Oxfordese. F rolled on the floor, with his hands over his head, trying to teach me how to speak for myself.¹⁶

Pound's letters also demonstrate Ford's impression on his personal life and on his creative life. To Harriet Monroe he expressed his excitement at receiving 'On Impressionism' (1913) for *Poetry* ('it will be the best prose we have had or are likely to get') and his view that, in 1913, '[Ford] and Yeats are the two men in London. And Yeats is already a sort of great dim figure'. (He resituated Ford alongside Joyce and Lewis in a 1918 letter to John Quinn.) After bumping into him in London in September, 1915, when Ford had decided to join up, Pound revealed, to

Monroe again, his understanding that 'it will be a long time before we get any more of his stuff, worse luck. He is looking twenty years younger and enjoying his work'. He was writing to his parents about Ford too: 'Dear Dad, [...] Am playing tennis with Hueffer [Ford's name until he changed it in 1919] in the afternoons'. He told his mother he was staying with Ford in a letter in June, 1913. Much later, in 1937, Pound reflected on this early period, reminding himself of Ford's influence when he added a note to a letter to Monroe originally sent in January 1915. He was talking in that original letter about the need for 'easy speech' of books and poems, and in the note he said 'it should be realised that Ford Madox Ford had been hammering this point of view into me from the time I first met him (1908 or 1909) and that I owe him everything I don't owe myself for having saved me from the academic influences then raging in London'.¹⁷

This creative relationship was fully active again by the early 30s as Ford networked to support Pound in advance of the *Cantos* publication. *The Cantos of Ezra Pound: Some Testimonials by Ernest Hemingway, Ford Madox Ford, T. S. Eliot, Hugh Walpole, Archibald MacLeish, James Joyce and Others* was published in 1933 and a copy is in the Berg. It was further demonstrated in the annotations Ford made on Pound's books that he owned.

Aside from those titles already mentioned, the collection boasts copies of *Quia Pauper Amavi* (first edition, N. D., signed 'Ezra Pound'), *Umbra: the Early Poems* (1920; first edition), *A Draft of XXX Cantos* (1933; both the first edition and the first English edition), and single first edition copies of *How to Read* (1931), *ABC of Economics* (1933), *ABC of Reading* (1934), *Make It New: Essays* (1934), and *Eleven New Cantos XXXI-XLI* (1934). There is a first American edition of *Culture* (1938),¹⁸ and, finally, no. 218 out of a first edition (privately printed) run of 250 copies of *Profile: An Anthology Collected in MCMXXXII*. Between them, they demonstrate a collector's (or a donator's) bias weighted towards Pound's work in the 1930s – the time when Ford was busy promoting him again. They were all unmarked. But Ford had annotated eight pages of one of Pound's earlier volumes, *Lustra, with Earlier Poems* – a book that collected most of the poems and translations Pound

produced between 1912 and 1916.

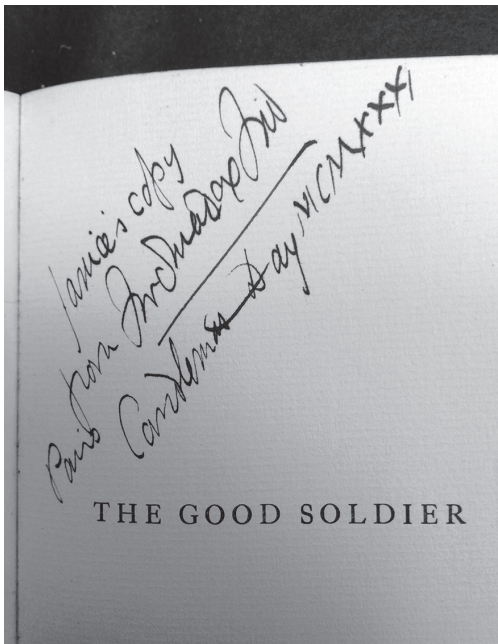
Ford's editorial comments in 1911 and 1912 did much to shape the poet Pound became. *Lustra* was assembled in 1913, then grew, and was then forcibly shrunk. The collection was published eventually in the UK (by Elkin Mathews in 1916) only after a complex series of negotiations to do with censorship. Knopf agreed to publish an unexpurgated edition the following year, so it grew again, and it is this edition that is in the Biala Collection. Extending this 'see-saw' effect in his critical engagement with the text, autograph corrections in Ford's hand suggest the omission of up to half of the stanzas in Pound's 'translations', 'The River Song' and 'Exile's Letter'. (Critics often use speech marks to convey the radical creativity Pound brought to the process of translating from the Chinese; while Ira Nadel, for example, records the 'outcry of Chinese scholars' in response to his 'inaccuracies and errors' when that process was approached not as a creative but as a literal one.)¹⁹

Ford writes 'omit' in the margin next to sections he wants to see cut and 'this' against those to keep. In 'The River Song', he suggests, for example, cutting the lines between 'Yet Sennin needs' and 'sun and moon' and between 'The Eastern wind' and 'spring singing'. He also recommends an additional revision in the poem, involving an insertion of some earlier text at the end of the poem. In 'Exile's Letter' his notes argue for the omission of the first verse and then the section from 'jewelled mouth organ' to 'And before the end of the day' and from 'sheep's guts' to 'caring enough to pay it' and further lines before 'San palace'. Detailed as they are, and despite the history of Ford's editorial relationship with Pound's work, none of these annotations was translated into a published version of the poems.²⁰ We may never discover why they remained at marginal level, and none of them is recorded in the catalogue listing of the Biala Collection.

No More Parades, presented to Biala in April, 1933.

This novel and its three companions, *Some Do Not...*, *A Man Could Stand Up*— and *Last Post*, are together the most numerically significant of Ford's works in the collection. Although I focus for the rest of this article on these novels, particularly *No More Parades*, the collection is remarkable for the fact that it contains at least one copy of over 50 of Ford's (many) titles.²¹ There is a high number of first editions, UK and US, and multiple copies of several works including both first editions; a full list of the titles the collection contains is available at the end of this essay.

The titles that are not represented in the collection date in the main as might be expected from the first half of Ford's career. The most remarkable omission overall is a first edition of what is still his most famous work, *The Good Soldier*, published in 1915 by John Lane. There are two copies of the 1927 'Avignon' edition to which Ford added a dedicatory letter to Stella Bowen. As Wiesenfarth notes, one of these two copies has been presented, in turn, to Biala, as shown in the image below.²²



The collection also has copies of *New English Poems*, edited by Lascelles Abercrombie and published in 1931, in which Ford's 'Buckshee' sequence first appeared in the UK; and copies of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, edited by Harriet Monroe (February and March, 1932), in which 'Buckshee-I-V' and 'Conclusion to "Buckshee"' respectively appeared in the US. As one might expect, its most contemporary volume is a copy of *Parade's End*, the omnibus version of the Tietjens tetralogy that Knopf published in 1950 based on the US first editions of *Some Do Not...* (published in the UK then the US in 1924), *No More Parades* (published in the UK then the US in 1925),²³ *A Man Could Stand Up*— (published in the UK and then the US in 1926), and *Last Post* (published in 1928, probably in the UK first but so close to the US publication that this is hard to be certain about).²⁴ The Berg holds two American first editions of *Some Do Not...* (the fourth printing, published in 1927), as well as a second English edition (the fourth impression, published in 1929); a UK and a US first edition (second printing) of *No More Parades*; two UK firsts and one US first (second printing) of *A Man Could Stand Up*—; and two UK first editions and a second US edition of *Last Post*. The UK firsts were all published by Duckworth in London, and the US firsts by Albert & Charles Boni, in New York.

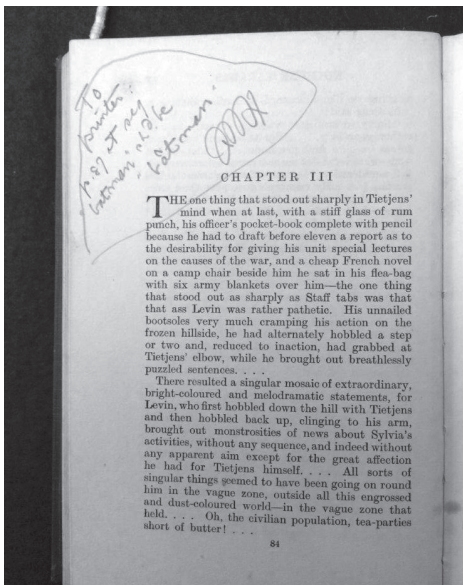
Towards *Parade's End*

The copy of *No More Parades* that I chose to examine particularly carefully was a UK first edition, and contained the intriguing dedication, 'Janice's copy to replace one that disappeared Ford Madox Ford Toulon April '33'. In the case of *A Man Could Stand Up*— and *Last Post*, the collection contains two UK firsts and one US first, while *No More Parades* is represented by only one of each. Could it have been his own copy that he was presenting to Biala to replace the one that she had lost?

It was certainly one of his, and a working copy, more than worthy of close examination. The novel, named, along with its companions, as an exemplar of both modernism and First World War fiction by more than one generation of critics (William Carlos Williams described the novels as 'the English prose masterpiece of their time' in 1951; Malcolm Bradbury deemed them 'exemplary' modernist novels)²⁵ has been substan-

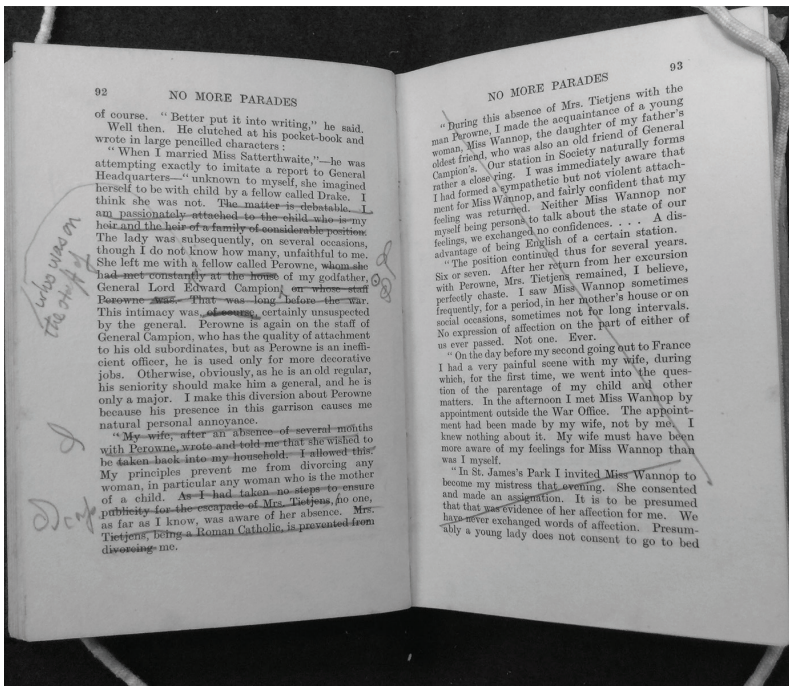
tially revised in a wealth of autograph additions and deletions. None of these is recorded in the listing of the Collection, and I add further details here to the account of the revisions given in the June *TLS* article, as well as some images.

The first revision is clear on p. 11, the opening page of the novel. In the top right corner, a pencilled autograph comment reads ‘To William Bird’ – Bird was the published dedicatee of this novel and the letter to him takes up four and a half pages in the first edition. Further down, a marginal pencil annotation moves the three final words of the first paragraph (‘with animal grunts’) to a position earlier in the sentence (after ‘manifested’). Only a few pages later, revisions indicate different corrections – to improve clarity or style: on p. 16, the sentence ‘They shone down the sun like spun glass’ is altered to ‘The sun shone down [on] them like spun glass’, while at the top of p. 17 ‘To the elder officer’ is changed to ‘To Tietjens’. On p. 23 the first dramatic revision occurs, with a total of 10 lines deleted by striking through. All of these lines relate to description of Sylvia Tietjens, physically or with regard to plot. (Ford’s revisions remove some of the most well-known descriptions of Sylvia, ‘very tall, very fair, extraordinarily fit and clean even’, in



her 'sheath gown of gold tissue'.) Further minor (and unclear) revision takes place on p. 24, and on p. 84 Ford addresses the printer directly in an autograph note which he initials. (Image: previous page.)

That instruction (a nod to the French origin in 'bât', pack-saddle) appeared on the first page of a chapter (3, of Part 1) which is revised on a further 17 pages. These are mostly deletions, sometimes of whole paragraphs and in two instances of a whole page. On p. 91, Ford deletes half a paragraph describing Sylvia's 'ladylike' qualities and their effect on her ability to care for her husband. On the subsequent two pages, as illustrated below, he edits out a large amount of plot information, related to Sylvia's affair with Perowne and the doubt over the paternity of Christopher's son, coupled with the introduction of Valentine Wannop.



© Estate of Janice Biala, New York

On p. 94 five more lines detailing their 'agreement' about the affair are cut and, on the subsequent two pages, Ford edits this storyline back further, deleting a long paragraph (pp. 96-7) in which Tietjens recon-

siders the motivation for his asking Valentine to become his mistress. A further paragraph about the motivation she has provided for his own adulterous feelings is cut from p. 99; p. 100 has some minor alterations, along with pp. 104 and 105 (the last in the chapter) while Ford also heavily annotates p. 103.

This is evidence of significant revision of one of Ford's seminal works. The novels were not only responded to positively by critics (and increasingly so over time); they also sold well. There were at least five US printings of *No More Parades* in 1925-6, for example. Moreover, the tetralogy is one of only two of Ford's works to have received the detailed treatment of a critical edition when it was published in four volumes in 2010-11 edited by Max Saunders, Joseph Wiesenfarth, myself, and Paul Skinner. The annotations and revisions on this edition held at the New York Public Library may not have been discovered in time to be worked into the critical narrative provided by the Carcanet *No More Parades*. However, the textual experience and knowledge embodied in that edition can be brought to bear on the questions they generate – and subsequent critical editions will be able to embed them in the textual history of this novel, completing it by a further stage.²⁶

Conscious of the need to clarify exactly the scope of Ford's revision before considering its purpose, I searched the rest of the novel, but found no further evidence. I turned to the other novels in the series, beginning with *Some Do Not...* As noted above, there was no UK first edition of this novel in the collection. Ford had dedicated one of the two first American editions in the collection to Biala, on Twelfth Night, in Paris, 1931. (See image on page 8.)

The third and final copy of the novel in the collection, the second English edition, was also dedicated to Biala, in March 1931, in Toulon (they had moved to the Villa Paul, Cap Brun, the previous year). The US first edition Ford had not dedicated to Biala had one revision: a correction to a misspelling of 'bluejackets' 12 pages from the end of Part II, Chapter II. There were UK first editions of both *A Man Could Stand Up* – and *Last Post*, one of each of which was dedicated to Biala in April 1933, also in Toulon – so in exactly the same month and location as the

annotated copy of *No More Parades*, suggesting they warranted close checking. But the American first editions of *A Man Could Stand Up*—and *Last Post* (*The Last Post* in the US) were presented to Biala too, on dates much more closely matching the dedication of *Some Do Not...*, Christmas Day in the case of the earlier novel, Twelfth Night again in that of the later. There were no further corrections or annotations on these copies. The UK first editions of the later novels, however, had both been (lightly) revised by Ford.

In both cases, the name of the dedicatee (respectively Gerald Duckworth and Isabel Paterson) was added in pencil to the top of the opening page of the text. Copies of all three UK firsts after *Some Do Not...* were therefore dedicated to Biala in the same month (that in *Last Post* – ‘Janice’s copy from Ford Madox Ford 18 April 1933’ – specifies the date), and revised by Ford, extensively in the case of *No More Parades*. As a result, I concluded that a UK1 of *Some Do Not...* had also been in the collection at some point, and dedicated to Biala in April, 1933, but had been excluded from the donated texts, or lost, or sold; and, similarly, that an American first of *No More Parades* had also ‘disappeared’. The more pressing questions, however, concerned the purpose of the revisions, and whether they were ever put into effect. It was an easy check to confirm that the misspelling in one of the US first editions of *Some Do Not...* had been caught and corrected. But none of the extensive revisions Ford made to *No More Parades* or to the opening pages of the later volumes were enacted. In my view, as I argued in the earlier piece, Ford was planning an omnibus of his own, nearly two decades ahead of Knopf’s, but which never transpired.

An omnibus, or no?

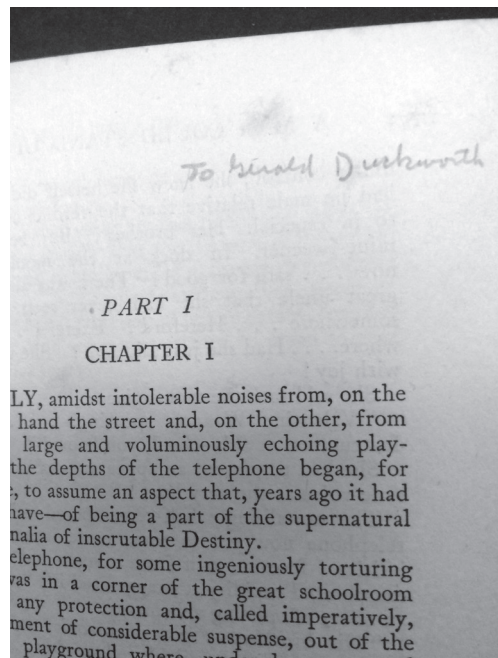
As early as March 1926, when Ford was still writing *A Man Could Stand Up*—, he was discussing with Gerald Duckworth how to profit best from the success of *Some Do Not...* and *No More Parades* in the US. He had achieved very little financial security over his 30-year career, and badly needed some now after the commercial failure of the *transatlantic review*. A letter to Duckworth demonstrates his depression at his poor UK sales (‘I suppose all this will re-act favourably on England: or doesn’t it make

any difference? I suppose not: I suppose nothing ever does')²⁷ and his plans for a US lecture tour to boost further his reputation there. As noted at the beginning of this article, the US was a more fruitful market for Ford in the second half of his career and it was his reception in the US in particular across the twenties that meant a collected edition became, for a time, a very real possibility. While a collected edition – one amounting to more than the fact that Gerald Duckworth was keeping the seventeen of Ford's novels he had published in print despite disappointing sales²⁸ – was definitely a prize that he sought, the four Tietjens novels sat somewhat obliquely to that project, and Ford was concerned more than once that a possible omnibus of the tetralogy might scupper it. (He listed the novels separately in his outline of his proposed edition to his agent in August 1929.)²⁹ In a letter in November 1927, though, written in anticipation of the publication of *Last Post*, Ford talks of it being the 'last of the Tietjens series' in ways that highlights his sense of the relationship between those texts. That relationship, the conception of a series, developed to spur his later revisions of the first editions in his and Biala's library, revisions that took place as the publishing world was still reeling from the effects of the Wall Street Crash.³⁰ Going back to those revisions, as noted, the majority have been undertaken less with matters of style in mind than with plot coverage. Words have mostly been deleted from a chapter whose main job is back story, concerned with the plot history as to Sylvia's affair, Tietjens' resultant doubts about the paternity of his son, and his meeting of Valentine Wannop and his decision to ask her to become his mistress – all covered in Part II of *Some Do Not....* By far the most words are lost from these sections of the chapter – although an interesting variation comes when a paragraph describing the military 'conference on Tietjens' case', provoked by Sylvia's pernicious presence at the front has been cut from p. 103, reducing the sense of General Campion and Sylvia's joint attempt to humiliate him.

The absence of a first UK edition of *Some Do Not...* (which we might have expected Ford to annotate for the mistakes in the Latin as well as in 'bluejackets'),³¹ means we don't have all the clues needed to make the best guess as to the reasons for Ford's revisions. But the fact that

the vast majority of them relate to back story, coupled with the addition of the dedicatees' names to the opening page – and the implication of the removal of the accompanying dedicatory letters – suggests strongly that they were made with reference to an omnibus edition of the tetralogy, and reveal active authorial engagement with the plan. An omnibus would require less editing of the initial novel, of course, which sets up the story (an untestable proposition in UK1's absence). Similarly, in an omnibus there would be no need for the specific and individual context the dedicatory letters provide. Removing them would both save space and a potential distraction: the letter to Duckworth took up three pages, and the one to Paterson a further four and a half pages – making it the same length as the one to Bird. All in all, the four novels would run together in an omnibus, and the reader would not be troubled by repetitive rehearsals of character description or plot.

We know Ford had bought into the idea of an omnibus, even as he held on to the idea of a collected edition. By August 1930 he is heading a letter to Pinker the 'Tietjens Saga'. He states that he is 'quite in favor' of this publication but wants to reiterate his earlier concern that it 'will



not interfere with ordinary editions intended to figure in my collected works at a later date'. He is also quite clear that he does not like the title 'Tietjens Saga', due to the fact the name 'Tietjens' is 'difficult for purchasers to pronounce'. He suggests another 'general title': *Parades End* (minus the apostrophe).³² Over the next three years, Ford was only ever temporarily solvent, his relations with publishers were strained, and he spent most of his energy negotiating, and eking out a living, on a book-by-book basis. *Parades End* might have helped turn things around.

Whether it was the Wall Street Crash that prevented him testing that hypothesis, or whether he changed his mind about the omnibus, deciding that the collected edition was the greater and competing prize, we still don't know. He certainly gave up the project before he worked in a detailed way very far into the tetralogy. Recovering Ford's own ideas concerning an omnibus, and his related work on these texts, has therefore become the task of later scholars, a task well worth undertaking in this case of four novels seen as increasingly central to the body of literature that emerged from the First World War.

However, Ford does clearly tell us in his annotations that he had returned to his senses about the importance of including *Last Post* in any version of a Tietjens series. (The August 1930 letter to Eric Pinker was also the one in which he said he wanted to 'omit the *Last Post* from the edition'.) I wonder if consulting those annotations would have been enough to persuade Graham Greene that, in fact, 'Ford's own version' of *Parade's End* was one that had returned to full strength?³³

Ford's titles in the Biala Collection

An asterisk in the list below denotes a second edition or later version only. Where there are two first editions, Ford's books were usually, but not always, published in the UK first. ^ denotes that the listed text was published first, or only, in the US.

Poetry: *Songs from London*, 1910; *Collected Poems*, 1913; *On Heaven and Poems Written on Active Service*, 1918; *A House*, 1921

Fairy stories: *The Brown Owl*, 1892; *Christina's Fairy Book*, 1906*

Art criticism: *Rossetti*, 1902*; *Hans Holbein*, 1905

Propaganda: *When Blood is Their Argument*, 1915; *Between St Dennis and St George*, 1915

Literary criticism: *The Critical Attitude*, 1911; *The English Novel*, 1929^; *The March of Literature*, 1938^

Life writing: *Ford Madox Brown*, 1896; *Memories and Impressions: A Study in Atmospheres*, 1911 – published in the UK the same year as *Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections*; *Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance*, 1924, *Thus to Revisit*, 1921; *No Enemy*, 1929^; *Return to Yesterday*, 1931; *It Was the Nightingale*, 1933^; *Portraits from Life*, 1937^ – published in the UK as *Mightier Than the Sword*, 1938, also in the collection.

Cultural criticism: *The Spirit of the People*, 1907; *Women and Men*, 1923; *New York is Not America*, 1927

Fiction: *The Shifting of the Fire*, 1892; *The Benefactor*, 1905; *The Fifth Queen* trilogy, 1905-7; *An English Girl*, 1907; *Mr Apollo*, 1908; *The 'Half Moon'*, 1909; *The Portrait*, 1910; *A Call*, 1910; *Ladies Whose Bright Eyes*, 1911; *The Simple Life Limited*, 1911; *The Panel*, 1912 – published as *Ring for Nancy* in the US in 1913 which is also in the collection; *The New Humpty-Dumpty*, 1912; *Mr Fleight*, 1913; *The Good Soldier*, 1927*; *Zeppelin Nights*, 1916; *Some Do Not...*, 1924*; *No More Parades*, 1925; *A Man Could Stand Up*–, 1926; *Last Post*, 1928; *A Little Less Than Gods*, 1928; *When the Wicked Man*, 1932^; *The Rash*

Act, 1933[^]; and *Henry for Hugh*, 1934[^]

Collaborative works: *Romance: A Novel*, 1909*; *The Nature of a Crime*, 1924 – both novels written with Joseph Conrad; *Provence: From Minstrels to the Machine*, 1935[^]; *Great Trade Route*, 1937[^] – both illustrated by Biala.

There are four copies of both *The Rash Act* and the earlier *A Little Less than Gods*, but there is no copy of Ford's last completed novel, *Vive le Roy* (1936). *The Feather* (1892) and *Mister Bosphorus and the Muses* or a *Short History of Poetry in Britain: Variety Entertainment in Four Acts* (1923) are both listed as belonging to the collection, but could not be found.

NOTES

1 I should like to acknowledge the British Academy's funding of my research, as well as Jason Andrew and the Estate of Janice Biala, and Michael Schmidt and Ford's Estate for permission to reproduce images in this article. Thanks are also due to Max Saunders and Paul Skinner for their comments.

2 My grateful thanks go to Hermine for her communications on the history of the collection.

3 The collection has not been written about in any detail to date. Joseph Wiesenfarth includes a paragraph on Ford's own inscribed books in the collection in his book *Ford Madox Ford and the Regiment of Women: Violet Hunt, Jean Rhys, Stella Bowen, Janice Biala* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 143-144. Paul Lewis's documentary film on Ford, *It Was the Nightingale: The Unreliable Story of Ford Madox Ford* (2017), includes footage of the books.

4 The typescript is complete, the holograph numbers 5 chapters only; both are early states of the memoir *Return to Yesterday* (1931). The notable element of this is Ford's inscription: 'My own corrected typescript from which the English Edition was printed [...]'.
5 Also bought that day were (listed in the order they appear on the receipt):

Thus to Revisit, New Poems, Between St Dennis and St George, On Heaven, The Spirit of the People, A Mirror to France, Collected Poems, New York is Not America, Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections, The Last Post, No More Parades, A Man Could Stand Up—, The Marsden Case, Mr Flight, The Fifth Queen Crowned (perhaps this very copy!), *The Heart of the Country, A Call, The Queen Who Flew, Women and Men, A House, Antwerp, and Songs from London*. This is an astonishingly eclectic mix of Ford's earliest fiction (*The Queen Who Flew*), through early memoir (*Ancient Lights*) and cultural criticism (*The Heart of the Country*) to its later varieties (*New York is Not America*), poetry (*Songs from London*) and his well-known fiction (the *Parade's End* novels).

6 Ford's *A History of Our Own Times* was first published posthumously, in the US, in 1988. The 1989 Carcanet edition reproduces the list of his books in print that Solon Beinfeld and Sondra Stang, its editors, compiled. The US section boasts 37 editions, the UK only 12 (251). This Phoenix Book shop (not the one in Greenwich Village run by Robert O. Wilson in the 1960s) was hard to find digitally. I did find this book listing: 'Rudyard Kipling: A Collection of First Editions Catalogue Number 7 New York Phoenix Book Shop First Edition Soft Cover Good 19 cm tall. 25 p. Catalogue 7 of the Phoenix Book Shop, New York. Contains 133 items. [...] At the time of printing the Phoenix Book Shop was at 41 East 49th Street, New York. Its phone number was Plaza 2116. New York City instituted 2 letters, 5 numbers in 1930. The latest date on a catalogue item is 1928. So this catalogue was likely published between 1928 and 1930.' Accessed at www.ElkhornBooks.com on 29 June, 2016.

7 In January, 1990 Biala wrote about this to Max Saunders, Ford's biographer, and the letter remains in his private collection.

8 On the history of that relationship with reference to the editorship of the *transatlantic review* in Paris in 1924, see Bernard J. Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the transatlantic review* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967). Max Saunders treats this biographically in *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), II, 159-160. See also Susan Swartzlander's 'Thus to Revisit or

Thus to Revise-It': Ernest Hemingway, Defiant Disciple' in *Ford Madox Ford's Literary Contacts, International Ford Madox Ford Studies 6*, edited by Paul Skinner (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 189-202.

9 *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, edited by Richard Ludwig (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 165.

10 Into French, with the exception of a Danish version of *The Good Soldier*, published in 1963 as *Den Gode Soldat*.

11 He left France for the US in 1940 when dismissed from his post in the Foreign Office by Vichy as a known anti-Nazi.

12 It's possible, as Paul Skinner suggested while editing this piece, that this in fact reads 'I Lug.' – and so perhaps is an abbreviation of the Italian 'luglio', for July. And is the 'XV' also evidence of Pound using the Fascist calendar, marking fifteen years since Mussolini had marched on Rome?

13 The listing describes this as 'one of supposed 6 copies labelled "Author's Proof" bound in wrappers for a select group chosen by Pound'.

14 Hugh Kenner, for example, addresses Pound's fundamental appreciation of Ford on numerous occasions. A good place to start would be his 'The Poetics of Speech' in *Ford Madox Ford: Modern Judgements*, edited by Richard A. Cassell (London: Macmillan, 1972), 169-181.

15 In 'Ford Madox Ford: Obit.', published in *Nineteenth Century and After*, CXXVI, 750 (August 1939), 178-181.

16 *Charles Olson and Ezra Pound: An Encounter at St. Elizabeths*, edited by Catherine Seelye (1975; New York: Paragon House, 1991), 107. My thanks to Paul Skinner for this reference.

17 In *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*, edited by D. D. Paige (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), 20, 21, 28, 49, 139.

18 This had been published in London, as some readers may know, as *Guide to Kulchur*, that same year. In 1952 it became *Guide to Kulchur* in the US too.

19 See Hugh Witemeyer, *The Poetry of Ezra Pound: Forms and Renewal 1908-1920* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 141 and Ira Nadel, *Cathay: Ezra Pound's Orient* (London: Penguin, 2015), 2, 67. Hugh Kenner began arguing in the 1960s ('The Invention of China' was published in *Spectrum* in 1967) that these poems were not translations in the conventional sense; the Chinese originals were source texts for Pound's poetic transformations and experiments in what English poetry could do: see *The Pound Era* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 199.

20 These poems remain unaltered from the earliest editions (London: Elkin Mathews, 1916 and the version published privately in a print run of 60 in New York in 1917), to the collected edition of 1926 (Liveright: New York) and Richard Sieburth's *New Selected Poems and Translations* (New York: New Directions, 2010).

21 Ford published close to 80 works.

22 *Ford Madox Ford and the Regiment of Women*, note 69, 202.

23 But see Joseph Wiesenfarth's Carcanet edition (Manchester: Carcanet, 2011) on the first chapter's appearance in the *Contact Collection of Contemporary Writers* (introduction, lvi-lviii).

24 See Paul Skinner's introduction to *Last Post* (Manchester: Carcanet, 2011).

25 Williams' review of *Parade's End* was published in the *Sewanee Review*, LIX (Jan.– Mar., 1951) 154-161; Bradbury's description comes in his introduction to his edition for Everyman in 1992.

26 Chapters on *The Good Soldier* and *Parade's End* as well as 'Editing Ford' in the forthcoming *Routledge Research Companion to Ford Madox Ford* provide more detail on the textual history of these novels.

27 *Letters*, 169.

28 Saunders, *A Dual Life*, II, 328.

29 Saunders, *A Dual Life*, II, 362.

30 A letter to Burton Rascoe, editor of *The Bookman: Letters*, 174.

31 See Saunders' notes in the Carcanet edition (Manchester: Carcanet, 2010), 118-119.

32 *Letters*, 196-197.

33 See Greene's introduction to *The Bodley Head Ford Madox Ford vol. 3, Parade's End* (London: The Bodley Head, 1963), 5.